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tries, it is natural that certain disorderly elements in Japan should move to China, and, taking advantage of the present conditions in that country, should there undertake unlawful activities. When these lawless persons are caught in the act of crime by the Chinese police, it is not difficult for that police force to deal with the case. The culprits are handed over as early as possible to the Japanese authorities for prosecution and trial. But when the criminals flee from the scene of their acts, it is in many cases hard to discover who committed the crimes and what were the causes and circumstances that led up to their commission. This is more difficult for the Chinese authorities, as they have no power to make domiciliary visits to the homes of foreigners, who enjoy extraterritorial rights, or to obtain judicial testimony in due form from such foreigners.

Without the full co-operation of the Japanese police, therefore, the punishment of crime is, in a great many cases, an impossibility, and those who are responsible for law-breaking escape trial and punishment.

This tendency is especially evident in Manchuria, in which region hundreds of thousands of Japanese are resident. In places where the Japanese police are stationed, there are

far fewer criminal cases among Japanese than in places without Japanese police. Lawless elements constantly move to districts beyond the reach of Japanese police supervision.

Apart from the theoretical side of the question, it will thus be observed that the stationing of Japanese police in the interior of China has proved to be of much practical usefulness in the prevention of crimes among Japanese residents, without interfering with the daily life of Chinese or of other foreign nationals. The Japanese policing provides a protection for the Chinese communities which at present their own organization fails to provide.

The Japanese delegation is in possession of knowledge and information as to the actual conditions prevailing in China and especially in Manchuria. However, it is unnecessary to go into details at the present stage.

In this session it was announced that, in consequence of the offer of good offices by Mr. Balfour and Mr. Hughes in regard to settlement of the Shantung dispute, that question would be taken up directly in "conversations" between the Chinese and Japanese delegations.

## THE FOUR POWER TREATY

Saturday, December 10, was historic in the sessions of the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments, for in the open meeting that day Senator Henry Cabot Lodge submitted the treaty between the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan for the maintenance of peace in the Pacific, and to supplant the Anglo-Japanese pact, the dissolution of which was one of the major purposes of the American delegation.

The text of the treaty follows:

*The United States of America, the British Empire, France, and Japan, with a view to the preservation of the general peace and the maintenance of their rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the regions of the Pacific Ocean, have determined to conclude a treaty to this effect and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries*

The President of the United States of America,  
His Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British dominions beyond the seas, Emperor of India, and for the Dominion of Canada, for the Commonwealth of Australia, for the Dominion of New Zealand, and for India,  
The President of the French Republic,  
His Majesty the Emperor of Japan,

*who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:*

### ARTICLE I

The high contracting parties agree as between themselves to respect their rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the region of the Pacific Ocean. If there should develop between any of the high contracting parties a controversy arising out of any Pacific question and involving their said rights, which is not satisfactorily settled by diplomacy and is likely to affect the harmonious accord now happily subsisting between them, they shall invite the other high contracting parties to a joint conference, to which the whole subject will be referred for consideration and adjustment.

### ARTICLE II

If the said rights are threatened by the aggressive action of any other power, the high contracting parties shall communicate with one another fully and frankly, in order to arrive at an understanding as to the most efficient measures to be taken, jointly or separately, to meet the exigencies of the particular situation.

### ARTICLE III

This agreement shall remain in force for 10 years from the time it shall take effect, and after the expiration of said period it shall continue to be in force, subject to the right of any of the high contracting parties to terminate it upon twelve months' notice.

### ARTICLE IV

This agreement shall be ratified as soon as possible in accordance with the constitutional methods of the high contracting parties and shall take effect on the deposit of ratifications, which shall take place at Washington, and thereupon the agreement between Britain and Japan, which was concluded at London on July 13, 1911, shall terminate.

The treaty was signed by the plenipotentiaries of the four governments on the following Tuesday. At the time of going to press, President Harding had not sent the treaty to the Senate. That was understood to have been in accord with the advice of Senator Lodge, on whom will fall the duty of defending the treaty against the attacks of the Irreconcilables, led by Senators Borah and Reed, who argue that Article X of the League of Nations covenant is embodied in the new treaty. The indications are that the treaty will be ratified, with votes to spare, but Senator Lodge is understood to be anxious to be present to defend it when it is squarely before the Senate. That might be inconvenient at this time.

At the time the treaty was signed, the plenipotentiaries also signed an agreement providing reservations by the United States as to its rights involved in Yap and other mandated islands of the Pacific, both north and south of the Equator, and also specifically removing from the scope of the treaty such domestic questions as Japanese immigration in California. The text of this agreement follows:

1. That the treaty shall apply to the mandated islands in the Pacific Ocean; *Provided, however,* That the making of the treaty shall not be deemed to be an assent on the part of the United States of America to mandates and shall not preclude agreements between the United States of America and the mandatory powers, respectively, in relation to the mandated islands.

2. That the controversies to which the second paragraph of Article I refers shall not be taken to embrace questions

which, according to principles of international law, lie exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of the respective powers.

Senator Lodge, in presenting the treaty to the Conference, argued that force is not provided, and that no military or naval sanction lurks in the background. In part, he said:

The Conference will perceive that I spoke correctly when I referred to the terms of the treaty as simple. To put it in a few words, the treaty provides that the four signatory powers will agree as between themselves to respect their insular possessions and dominions in the region of the Pacific, and that if any controversy should arise as to such rights all the high contracting parties shall be invited to a joint conference looking to the adjustment of such controversy. They agree to take similar action in the case of aggression by any other power upon these insular possessions or dominions.

The agreement is to remain in force for ten years, and after ratification under the constitutional methods of the high contracting parties, the existing agreement between Great Britain and Japan, which was concluded at London on July 13, 1911, shall terminate. And that is all. Each signer is bound to respect the rights of the other, and before taking action in any controversy to consult with them. There is no provision for the use of force to carry out any of the terms of the agreement, and no military or naval sanction lurks anywhere in the background or under cover of these plain and direct clauses.

The surest way to prevent war is to remove the causes of war. This is an attempt to remove causes of war over a great area of the globe's surface by reliance upon the good faith and honest intentions of the nations which sign the treaty, solving all differences through the processes of diplomacy and joint consideration and conciliation. No doubt we shall hear it said that the region to which this agreement applies is one most unlikely to give birth to serious disputes, and therefore an agreement of this character is of little consequence. History unhappily has shown that there is no corner of the earth so remote or so valueless that it is not capable of giving cause for controversy or even for war between the tribes and the nations of mankind.

If the nations of the earth are still, in the innermost recesses of their consciences, planning or dreaming of coming wars and longing for conquests, no treaties of partition and no alliances can stay them; but if, as I firmly hope, the world has learned a frightful lesson from the awful experiences of the World War of 1914, then our surest appeal in order to prevent wars in the future must be to the hearts, the sympathies, the reason, and the higher impulses of mankind.

Such an appeal we make today by this agreement among four great nations. We rely upon their good faith to carry out the terms of this instrument, knowing that by so doing they will prevent war, should controversies ever arise among them. If this spirit prevails and rules, we can have no better support than the faith of nations. For one, I devoutly believe the spirit of the world is such that we can trust to the good faith and the high purposes which the treaty I have laid before you embodies and enshrines.

Agreements of this kind, I know, have often been made before, only to fail. But there has been a far-reaching change in the mental condition of men and women everywhere. That which really counts is the intention of the nations who make the agreement. In this hour of trial and darkness, which has followed the war with Germany, the spirit of the world is no longer the same. If we enter upon this agreement, which rests only upon the will and honor of those who sign it, we at least make the great experiment and appeal to the men and women of the nations to help us sustain it in spirit and in truth.

Prince Tokugawa, for Japan, said:

The terms of the important pact assuring mutual security

and friendship have just been made known. It is needless for me to say that all Japan will approve the consummation of this work.

Japan will rejoice in this pledge of peace upon the Pacific Ocean.

As to the Anglo-Japanese agreement which is soon to terminate, I desire to associate myself with the words of appreciation so ably expressed by our distinguished colleague, Mr. Balfour, with respect to the glorious service which that agreement has done for the preservation of peace and liberty.

Mr. Balfour, for Great Britain, said in part:

It so happens that I was at the head of the British Administration which twenty years ago brought the first Anglo-Japanese alliance into existence. It so happens that I was at the head of the British Administration which brought into existence the entente between the British Empire and France, and through all my life I have been a constant, ardent, and persistent advocate of intimate and friendly relations between the two great branches of the English-speaking race.

You may well, therefore, conceive how deep is my satisfaction when I see all these four powers putting their signatures to a treaty which I believe will for all time insure perfect harmony of co-operation between them in the great region with which the treaty deals.

Mr. Chairman, you told us at the beginning of this part of our meeting, most truly, that this treaty did not strictly come within the four corners of the Conference program; and that statement was perfectly accurate. But no man or woman who has listened at this discussion, who has heard Senator Lodge read and comment on the treaty, who has heard M. Viviani's eloquent statement of the effect it has produced on his country—nobody can consider the substance and matter of the treaty itself without seeing that, whether or not it be within the strict program of our Conference, nothing is more germane to its spirit and nothing that we could possibly have done would better prepare the way for that diminution of naval armament which I hope will be one of our greatest triumphs.

The representatives of all the other nations in the Conference, whether parties to the pact or not, spoke in warm approval. M. Viviani, for France, was notably eloquent.

## WHY DID THEY COME?

By WALTER AMOS MORGAN

A GRAY MORNING, with the mist hanging over the city and the Washington Monument shrouded in fog! The great of the earth are gathered and all that is mortal of one unknown boy is riding in state toward Arlington Cemetery. The black, flag-draped casket is guarded by mates who perhaps called him by name in other days. The cavalry rides proudly ahead; the infantry follows, with military tread; the marines march like conquerors; the sailors bear themselves as sailors should. The long, gray rifles of the artillery look grim in their war paint. President Harding and General Pershing walk as chief mourners; on either side are representatives of European nations; behind come the President's Cabinet, the members of the Supreme Court, the members of the Senate, the members of the House, and a long line of those whose names men speak in reverence. Pennsylvania Avenue is lined with a silent throng of the common people.

Somebody's son marched away with grim courage and high hope. When he waved his cap good-by a nation shouted and the flag was given to the winds. Now he comes back and a nation stands uncovered and the flag is at half-mast. He rides in his flag-draped casket, with